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tain and her colonies, that they began to be sensible of their desperate situation—this whole northern continent being now in the possession of one great and powerful nation, against whom it was vain to attempt resistance. Yet it was at this moment that their prophets, impelled by ambitious motives, began to endeavour by their eloquence to bring them back to independent feelings, and create among them a genuine national spirit; but it was too late. The only rational resource that remained for them to prevent their total annihilation was to adopt the religion and manners of their conquerors, and abandon savage life for the comforts of civilised society; but of this but a few of them were sensible; in vain Missionaries were sent among them, who, through the greatest hardships and dangers exerted themselves to soften their misfortunes by the consolations of the Christian faith, and to point out to them the way of salvation in this world and the next; the banner of Christ was comparatively followed but by small numbers, and these were persecuted by their friends, or, at least, those who ought to have been such, as well as by their enemies. Among the obstacles which the Missionaries encountered, the strong opposition which was made to them by the prophets of the Indian nations was by no means the least.

I have known several of these preachers and prophets during my residence in the Indian country, and have had sufficient opportunities to observe the means which they took to operate on the minds of their hearers. I shall content myself with taking notice here of a few of the most remarkable among them.

In the year 1762, there was a famous preacher of the Delaware nation, who resided at *Cayahaga*, near Lake Erie, and travelled about the country, among the Indians, endeavouring to persuade them that he had been appointed by the great Spirit to instruct them in those things that were agreeable to him, and point out to them the offences by which they had drawn his displeasure on

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themselves, and the means by which they might recover his favour for the future. He had drawn, as he pretended, by the direction of the great Spirit, a kind of map on a piece of deer skin, somewhat dressed like parchment, which he called "the great Book or Writing." This, he said, he had been ordered to shew to the Indians, that they might see the situation in which the Mannitto had originally placed them, the misery which they had brought upon themselves by neglecting their duty, and the only way that was now left them to regain what they had lost. This map he held before him while preaching, frequently pointing to particular marks and spots upon it, and giving explanations as he went along.

The size of this map was about fifteen inches square, or, perhaps, something more. An inside square was formed by lines drawn within it, of about eight inches each way, two of those lines, however, were not closed by about half an inch at the corners. Across these inside lines, others of about an inch in length were drawn with sundry other lines and marks, all which was intended to represent a strong inaccessible barrier, to prevent those without from entering the space within, otherwise than at the place appointed for that purpose. When the map was held as he directed, the corners which were not closed lay at the left hand side, directly opposite to each other, the one being at the south-east by south, and the nearest at the north-east by north. In explaining or describing the particular points on this map, with his fingers always pointing to the place he was describing, he called the space within the inside lines "the heavenly regions," or the place destined by the great Spirit for the habitation of the Indians in future life; the space left open at the south east corner, he called the "avenue," which had been intended for the Indians to enter into this heaven, but which was now in the possession of the white people; wherefore the great Spirit had since caused another "avenue" to be made on the opposite side, at

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which, however, it was both difficult and dangerous for them to enter, there being many impediments in their way, besides a large ditch leading to a gulf below, over which they had to leap; but the evil spirit kept at this very spot a continual watch for Indians, and whoever he laid hold of, never could get away from him again, but was carried to his regions, where there was nothing but extreme poverty; where the ground was parched up by the heat for want of rain, no fruit came to perfection, the game was almost starved for want of pasture, and where the evil spirit, at his pleasure, transformed men into horses and dogs, to be ridden by him and follow him in his hunts and wherever he went.

The space on the outside of this interior square, was intended to represent the country given to the Indians to hunt, fish and dwell in while in this world; the east side of it was called the ocean or "great salt water Lake." Then the preacher, drawing the attention of his hearers particularly to the south east avenue, would say to them. "Look here! See what we have lost by neglect and dis-"obedience; by being remiss in the expression of our "gratitude to the great Spirit, for what he has bestowed "upon us; by neglecting to make to him sufficient sacri-"fices; by looking upon a people of a different colour "from our own, who had come across a great lake, as if "they were a part of ourselves; by suffering them to sit "down by our side, and looking at them with indiffer-"ence, while they were not only taking our country from "us, but this, (pointing to the spot) this, our own "avenue, leading into those beautiful regions which were "destined for us. Such is the sad condition to which "we are reduced. What is now to be done, and what "remedy is to be applied? I will tell you, my friends. "Hear what the great Spirit has ordered me to tell you! "You are to make sacrifices, in the manner that I shall "direct; to put off entirely from yourselves the customs "which you have adopted since the white people came

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792 668 "among us; you are to return to that former happy "state, in which we lived in peace and plenty, before "these strangers came to disturb us, and above all, you "must abstain from drinking their deadly *beson*, which "they have forced upon us, for the sake of increasing "their gains and diminishing our numbers. Then will "the great Spirit give success to our arms; then he will "give us strength to conquer our enemies, to drive them "from hence, and recover the passage to the heavenly "regions which they have taken from us."

Such was in general the substance of his discourses. After having dilated more or less on the various topics which I have mentioned, he commonly concluded in this manner: "And now, my friends, in order that what I "have told you may remain firmly impressed on your "minds, and to refresh your memories from time to time, "I advise you to preserve, in every family, at least, "such a book or writing as this, which I will finish off "for you, provided you bring me the price, which is only [435] "one buck-skin or two doe-skins a piece."* The price was of course bought, and the book purchased. In some of those maps, the figure of a deer or turkey, or both, was placed in the heavenly regions, and also in the dreary region of the evil spirit; the former, however, appeared fat and plump, while the latter seemed to have nothing but skin and bones.

I was also well acquainted with another noted preacher, named *Waugomend*, who was of the Monsey tribe. He began to preach in the year 1766, much in the same manner as the one I have just mentioned. When Mr. [103] Zeisberger first came to *Goschgoschink* town, on the Allegheny river, this Indian prophet became one of his hearers, but finding that the Missionary's doctrine did not agree with his own, he became his enemy. This man also pretended that his call as a preacher was not of his own choice, but that he had been moved to it by

* Of the value of one dollar.

[Errata. See cat. 116, p. 348. - Anal ed.]

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the great and good Spirit, in order to teach his countrymen, who were on the way to perdition, how they could become reconciled to their God. He would make his followers believe that he had once been taken so near to heaven, that he could distinctly hear the crowing of the cocks, and that at another time he had been borne by unseen hands to where he had been permitted to take a peep into the heavens, of which there were three, one for the Indians, one for the negroes and another for the white people. That of the Indians he observed to be the happiest of the three, and that of the whites the unhappiest; for they were under chastisement for their ill treatment of the Indians and for possessing themselves of the land which God had given to them. They were also punished for making beasts of the negroes, by selling them as the Indians do their horses and dogs, and beating them unmercifully, although God had created them as well as the rest of mankind.

The novelty of these visions procured him hearers for a time; he found, however, at last, that the Indians became indifferent to his doctrines, particularly as he frequently warned them not to drink the *poison* brought to them by the white people, of which his congregations were very fond. Then he bethought himself of a more popular and interesting subject, and began to preach against witchcraft and those who dealt in the black art. Here he had all the passions and prejudices of the poor Indians on his side, and he did not fail to meet with the general approbation, when he declared to them that wizzards were getting the upper hand, and would destroy the nation, if they were not checked in their career. He travelled in 1775, to *Goschachking*, at the forks of Muskingum, to lay this business before the great council of the Delawares, and take their opinion upon it. The first report which the Missionaries on the Muskingum heard on this subject, was that the chiefs had at first united in having every conjurer and witch in

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the nation brought to an account and punished with death, that, however, on a more mature consideration, they had thought proper in the first place to ascertain the number and names not only of those who were known, but even of those who were suspected of dealing in sorcery, and Wangomend was appointed to cause the enumeration to be made. He accordingly hastily set off for his home, and on his arrival immediately entered on the duties of his mission; when behold! it was discovered that the number of offenders was much greater than had been at first imagined, and he found himself in danger of having his own name inserted in the black list. His zeal, in consequence, became considerably cooled, and by the time when he returned the chiefs were no longer disposed to meddle with this dangerous subject, justly fearing that it could not but terminate in the ruin of their nation. Wangomend, therefore, returned to his former mode of preaching, recommending to his hearers to purge themselves from sin by taking certain prescribed medicines, and making frequent sacrifices to the great Spirit.

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The last whom I shall take notice of is the Prophet-warrior *Tecumseh*, lately so celebrated among us, and who lost his life in the last war at the battle of the Thames, on the 30th of September, 1813, at the age, it is said, of 43 years. The details of his military life have been made sufficiently known through the medium of journals and newspapers, and his famous speech to the British general Proctor delivered at Amherstburg a short time before the battle which decided his fate, is in every body's hands.* But his character as a prophet and the means that he took to raise himself to power and fame are not so well nor so particularly understood, although it is, in general, admitted that he was admirably skilled in the art of governing Indians through the medium of

* See Niles's Weekly Register, vol. i. p. 141. vol. v p. 174. and vol. vi. p. 111.

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of their kin who had moved there directly from northern New York. They, therefore, united with the Hurons (Talamatans) to drive out the Talega (Tsalaki, Cherokees) from the upper Ohio. This they only succeeded in accomplishing finally in the historic period. But they did clear the road and reached the Delaware valley, though neither forgetting nor giving up their claims to their western territories.[30]

It is not my purpose to go into the authenticity of the Walam Olum or the accuracy of its migration account. Suffice it to say that the Walam Olum was probably a product of the Delawares during their phase of revivalistic nativism and that it seems "to be an account, by a despairing person unable to gain his customary satisfactions from a life that no longer existed, of a Golden Age which never was. . . . Indeed the Walam Olum plainly appears to be the mirror image of a nativistically oriented people, rather than an authentic account of their history."[31]

The Location and Divisions of the Early Historic Delawares

It is impossible, for the following reasons, to know precisely the name, location, and affiliations of all the peoples who at the end of the seventeenth century joined forces and became known as the Delawares. First, the Delawaran peoples were aboriginally and during most of the seventeenth century unorganized politically and composed of a large number of subdivisions. Second, three different European nations were in contact with Delawaran peoples during this century. Their names for various groups often differed, and their interest in the relationships and locations of the various divisions was often slight. Third, these natives were soon displaced geographically and much reduced in numbers. Lastly, an unknown number of non-Delawaran peoples were incorporated into the Delaware tribe at the end of the seventeenth century. I have not undertaken the prodigious task of locating the Delawaran peoples by investigating all of the primary sources, although such a study is sorely needed; instead, a synthesis of previous investigations and two seventeenth-century maps is presented. This discussion is, therefore, liable to inaccuracies of various kinds.

For convenience the Delawares at the opening of historic times may be described as being composed of three geographical groups, traditionally called the Munsi, Unami, and Unalachtigo. The people who were to become the core of the tribe composed the division which became known in the mid-eighteenth century as the Unami. According to Brinton, the term Unami means "people down the river."[32] Zeisberger used the term

[30] Brinton, 1885, pp. 165-66.
[31] Newcomb, 1956, p. 63.
[32] The following discussion and Map 1 are based on Ruttenber, 1872, pp. 89-93; Hrdlicka, 1903, pp. 33-37; Skinner, 1909, pp. 30-32; Bolton, 1920, pp. 226-86; Swanton, 1952, pp. 48-55; Van der Donck's map of New Netherland, 1656, opposite p. 294 in Jameson, 1909; and N. J. Visscher's Map of New Netherland, New England . . . about 1655, opposite p. 170 in Myers, 1912.
[33] Brinton, 1885, p. 36.

[text continues on p. 7]

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774 lameness.[33] For fear of this soul nobody ever eats in the dark or allows a sick person to be in a dark room (J.T., N.D.).

775 The Delawares believed in an after life, but what this existence was like is only vaguely described in the early literature and probably was only vaguely envisaged by them. De Vries said that "when they die they sing like the ravens; but this singing is entirely different from the singing of angels."[34] One source stated that "some" believed that after a soul had been in the other world for a time it might be reborn on earth in another individual.[35] Harrington said that on the twelfth day after death the spirit made its way to the twelfth or highest home, a beautiful place, without pain or sorrow, where there were magnificent dwellings, beautiful streams, and fertile lands. This paradise was only for the good; where bad or evil spirits went is unknown.[36] This concept was in all likelihood a diffusion from Christianity.

The Big House Ceremony

114 The Big House or Annual Ceremony has been the principal ceremony
668 and the focal point of Delaware religious observances at least since the second half of the eighteenth century. Prior to the tribal consolidation
796 of the Delawares (in the early decades of the eighteenth century), this Ceremony could not have existed as it is now known, since in its modern form it is a tribal or national religious event. I do not agree with Kinietz that the Big House Ceremony came into existence as an adjunct of the revivalistic nativism of the Delawares after 1762.[37] It seems much more likely that it was synthesized during the early decades of the century at the time when other parts of the culture were being unified and the tribal society was emerging. As far as I have been able to determine, the import and the meaning of this ceremony have not been nativistic as would be required by Kinietz's hypothesis. Its general purpose was to give thanks for past blessings and to ensure good for-
796 tune for the coming year.[38] Morgan said: "They believe unless they
177 observe it once a year their crops will fail, and they will loose (sic) the favor of the Great Spirit."[39] I agree with Kinietz that "European civilization in contact with that of the Delawares was unconsciously responsible for the integration of the Big House Ceremony, the dropping and addition of many features . . . ,"[40] but I set the date for this integration half a century earlier than he does. The addition of the symbolic number twelve (from the twelve Apostles of Christianity?), the sacred number of the sweat lodge, and the appearance of the Mask Being during the ceremony are but two examples of historic additions to the ceremony.[41]

796 Unfortunately, the seventeenth-century documents contain little more than hints concerning the nature of the religious rites from which the the Big House Ceremony was synthesized. Denton, however, said:

[33] Speck, 1931, p. 25; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 131; J.T.
[34] De Vries, 1909, p. 224.
[35] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 131.
[36] Harrington, 1921, pp. 52-54.
[37] Kinietz, 1940, pp. 117-21.
[38] Speck, 1931, p. 21; R.W., O.A.
[39] Morgan, 1859, MS.
[40] Kinietz, 1940, p. 121.
[41] *Ibid.*, p. 118.

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and immorality, even gross sensuality and unnatural vice flourish among them, according to the testimony of the Indians themselves, more than was the case formerly."[80]

About 1750 prophets began to appear among the Delawares, and these individuals continued to appear sporadically until 1812.[81] The Shawnee prophet of the early nineteenth century, although of another tribe, may be regarded as representing the end of this phase of acculturation. No prophets appeared before 1750 and none after 1812, if exception is made of the initiators of peyotism in the late nineteenth century. This anti-acculturative movement and the wars of this period were closely associated: some of the messages of the prophets fostered war, and, conversely, military defeats probably furthered their appearance. During this phase of acculturation the Delawares were desperately trying to save what was left of their cultural and social integrity and to turn back the clock to a mythical age when war, personal demoralization, and cultural chaos were unknown. One way of attaining this end was to follow the dictates of the supernatural powers as revealed by prophets. This the Delawares did in nativistic movements of a type which has been described as "revivalistic nativism."[82] This form of nativism is defined as "an attempt to revive extinct or at least moribund elements of culture . . . ."[83] All of these prophets taught that by following supernatural injunctions as revealed to them, acculturation could be halted and even reversed. The most successful was known as the Delaware Prophet or the Imposter, whose career reached its zenith about 1762.[84] In a vision this man received instructions from the Great Spirit on how to restore his people to their former state. His message was made concrete by a number of symbolic devices painted on a tanned deer hide or on a wooden stick. Copies of the deer-hide map were made, some on paper, and were sold by the Delaware Prophet. Some of the purchasers, in turn, seem to have become minor prophets. Heckewelder's description of this symbolic device is the most detailed:

> The size of this map was about fifteen inches square, or, perhaps, something more. An inside square was formed by lines drawn within it, of about eight inches each way, two of those lines, however, were not closed by about half an inch at the corners. Across these inside lines, others of about an inch in length were drawn with sundry other lines and marks, all which was intended to represent a strong inaccessible barrier, to prevent those without from entering the space within, otherwise than at the place appointed for that purpose. When the map was held as he directed, the corners which were not closed lay at the left hand side, directly opposite to each other, the one being at the south-east by south, and the nearest at the north-east by north. In explaining or describing the particular points on this map, with his fingers always pointing to "the heavenly re-

[80] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 20.

[81] Zeisberger, 1871, p. 265, gives this date, but the Delaware prophet did not appear until a decade later, in 1760. (Hayes, 1954, pp. 76-77, said, however, that Papunhang, the christianized Delaware preacher, had established his religious group before 1752).

[82] Linton, 1943, pp. 230-40.

[83] *Ibid.*, p. 231.

[84] Peckham, 1947, p. 98; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 291.

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gions," or the place destined by the great Spirit for the habitation of the Indians in future life; the space left open at the south-east corner, he called the "avenue," which had been intended for the Indians to enter into this heaven, but which was now in the possession of the white people, wherefore the great Spirit had since caused another "avenue" to be made on the opposite side, at which, however, it was both difficult and dangerous for them to enter, there being many impediments in their way.... The space on the outside of this interior square was intended to represent the country given to the Indians to hunt, fish and dwell in while in this world; the east side of it was called the ocean or "great salt water Lake."[95]

The prophet discussed before his public this representation of the supernatural world and pointed out that through neglect and disobedience the Great Spirit had turned his benevolent attention to the whites. He had allowed the whites to usurp Indian land and to bar passage of the Indian to the spirit world.[96] To correct this state of affairs the prophet advocated several courses of action:

> Hear what the great Spirit has ordered me to tell you! You are to make sacrifices, in the manner that I shall direct; to put off entirely from yourselves the customs which you have adopted since the white people came among us; you are to return to that former happy state, in which we lived in peace and plenty, before these strangers came to disturb us, and above all, you must abstain from drinking their deadly *beson* [poison, alcohol], which they have forced upon us, for the sake of increasing their gains and diminishing our numbers. Then will the great Spirit give success to our arms; then he will give us strength to conquer our enemies, to drive them from hence, and recover the passage to the heavenly regions which they have taken from us.[97]

James Kenny, a Pittsburgh trader, emphasized that the prophet advocated the cessation of trade with whites, and said:

> ... its agree'd to by their Whole Nation, to follow their new Plan of Religion, & all their Boys are to be Train'd to yeuse of the Bow & Arrow for Seven Years Then to Live entirely on dry'd Meat & a Sort of Bitter Drink made of Roots & Plants & Water ye Women & Antient Men may Raise & Eat Corn at ye Expiration of ye Seven Years, to quit all Commerce with ye White People & Clothe themselves with Skins.[98]

Another prophet, a Munsi called Wangomend, appeared in 1766 and met Zeisberger in 1767. Relatively little is known about this man, although Heckewelder mentioned him:

> This man also pretended that his call as a preacher was not of his own choice, but that he had been moved to it by the great and good Spirit, in order to teach

[95] Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 291-92; Loudon published a purported reproduction of the prophet's book along with McCullough's description of the prophet and his works (Loudon, 1808, pp. 324-25, and tipped-in engraving). Hayes, 1954, pp. 76-77, saw the "old priest's" book in 1760. Zeisberger, 1910, p. 133, and Kenny, 1913, p. 171, also described the prophet's symbolic world portrait.

[96] Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 292-93.

[97] *Ibid.*, p. 293.

[98] Kenny, 1913, p. 188; also see pp. 171-72.

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his countrymen, who were on the way to perdition, how they could become reconciled to their God. He would make his followers believe that he had once been taken so near to heaven, that he could distinctly hear the crowing of the cocks, and that at another time he had been borne by unseen hands to where he had been permitted to take a peep into the heavens, of which there were three, one for the Indians, one for the negroes, and another for the white people.[99]

The last of the prophets associated with the Delawares was Tenskawatawa, a Shawnee and brother of Tecumseh. These two Shawnees had established their headquarters and lived for several years, beginning in 1798, at one of the Delaware villages on White River in present-day Indiana.[100] The prophet preached against drunkenness, racial intermarriage, "release of Indian lands to the whites by sale, and the sin of witchcraft."[101] Luckenbach in 1805 said of him:

> We heard that a Schawano Indian had arisen among the heathen as teacher, and that a large number of Delawares and Schawanos had come together in Woapicamikunk to hear what this heathen teacher had to say. As usual his teaching consists of all sorts of ancient heathenism. In addition he forbids all sins, and insists that parents should not strike their children. He also urges most strongly that the Indians should sacrifice; that they should do away with their cattle and keep horses only; that the heathen should shave their heads and live as did the Indians in olden days. He assured the Indians that God had shown him the deer were half a tree's length under the ground and that these would soon appear again on earth if the Indians did what he told them to do, and then there would be an abundance of deer once more. He also related in an address that God had shown him a crab whose claws were quite full of seaweeds; that the spirit had told him, "Look! this crab is from Boston and has brought with it something of the land there. If you Indians will do everything I tell you I will turn over the land so that the white people are covered and you alone shall possess the land."[102]

Some diffusion from Christianity had occurred, although the prophets vehemently rejected Christianity and most of Euro-American civilization. The idea of a heaven and a hell, common in the messages of the prophets, is a case in point, as is the symbolic number twelve, which has been mentioned. Other traits of this sort may have diffused about this time. It seems certain that the revivalistic nativism did much to strengthen the Big House Ceremony, and, as Kinietz has shown, many minor elements seem to have been added to it by the prophets. Shaking hands with the left hand and the addition of ten carved heads in the Big House, bringing the total to twelve, are examples which he mentioned.[103] These changes in religion do not mean that any of the native ceremonies lost their force or vitality. According to Zeisberger:

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[99] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 294.
[100] Thompson, 1937, p. 45.
[101] *Ibid.*
[102] Luckenbach, 1938, p. 392; also see p. 282.
[103] Kinietz, 1940, pp. 118-19.

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Though in the detail of the ceremony there has been change, as the Indians are more divided now than at that time [i.e., prehistorically] worship and sacrifice have continued as practiced in the early days, for the Indians believe that they would draw all manner of disease and misfortune upon themselves if they omitted to observe the ancestral rites.[106]

By the time the Shawnee prophet appeared the Delawares seem to have passed somewhat beyond the nativistic phase of acculturation.

Decadent Period (1814-1867)

The military defeats of the Delawares during the Nativistic Period and the disillusionment following the unsuccessful religious revivals set the stage for a phase of acculturation which is best described as one of decadence. By the second decade of the nineteenth century the Delawares were no longer an independent tribe, but were politically and militarily dominated by, and at the mercy of, the United States. In a social sense the tendencies towards dispersal first noted in the preceding period persisted, as small groups continued to desert the main body of the tribe. In other respects cultural decay and disintegration continued, although further acculturation is best described as halting. From this time on the Delawares underwent continuous, overt pressure to become "civilized" Americans.

History

In 1814 the British and Americans concluded a treaty of peace, one article of which stipulated that the Indian allies of the British would have their rights, privileges, and property restored.[105] In compliance with this treaty, in 1816 "A Treaty of Peace and Friendship" was entered into with the Delawares, as well as with other tribes.[106] This treaty did not long prevent the alienation of Indian lands, however, for during the administration of Monroe (1817-25) "a policy was inaugurated looking to increased westward emigration of Indians from east of the Mississippi."[107] Before the War of 1812 the Delawares had bitterly opposed the cession of land, but after the war they did not have the strength to resist the demands of the United States.[108]

In the Treaty of St. Mary's of 1818 the Delawares, including remnants of the Mahicans and Nanticokes, sold their land in Indiana to the government "without reserve." The government agreed to remove them to the west side of the Mississippi and give them land there, although no location or emigration date was set.[109] In 1820 Delawares from the

[104]Zeisberger, 1910, p. 136. Mahr, 1952, has documented the community responsibility of ritual leaders, as demonstrated in the experience of a Moravian convert of 1772.

[105]Thompson, 1937, p. 81; G. Foreman, 1946, pp. 27-23.

[106]G. Foreman, 1946, p. 29.

[107]*Ibid.*, pp. 32-47.

[108]Thompson, 1937, p. 81.

[109]Brinton, 1885, pp. 124-25; Mooney, 1911, p. 337; G. Foreman, 1946, p. 37.

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and is small in his own eyes. On the other hand those who have been thus favored possess a high and proud spirit.

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About thirty years ago[100] preachers appeared among the Indians. They pretended to have received revelations from above, to have traveled into heaven and conversed with God. They gave different accounts of their journey, but all agreed in this: that no one could enter heaven without great danger, for the road, say they, runs close by the gates of hell. Here the devil lies in ambush and snatches at every one who is going to God. They came first to the Son of God and through him to God himself, with whom they pretend to have conversed concerning the Indians and by whom they were commanded to instruct their people. Thus the Indians were for the first time informed that there was a heaven where was the dwelling of God and a hell that of the devil. Presumably they got this knowledge from the whites. Some of the preachers confessed that they had not reached the dwelling of God but had approached near enough to hear the cocks crow and see the smoke of the chimneys in heaven. Others that they had approached the Son of God and then returned.

These teachers marked off on a piece of parchment made of deerskin two roads, both leading to heaven, one designated by God for the Indians, the other for the white people. They claim that the latter had to go a great way round about and the road for the Indians was at that time the shortest, but now, since the white people had blocked up the road for the Indians, they were obliged to make a long circuit to come to God. Further, there were paintings of heaven and hell upon the parchment as also the figure of a balance to represent the deceitful traffic carried on by the white people with the Indians. This rude parchment is, as it were, their Bible, and lies spread before them when they preach for the Indians. They then explain every mark and figure to their hearers and it is very evident that their chief aim is to influence the minds of the Indians against the white people. It is certain that their preaching has had this effect, for about this time war broke out between Indians and whites there having been no such war before.

They declared to the Indians that God had commanded their

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cleansing from sin and to this end they gave them twelve different kinds of Beson to drink, supposed by causing vomiting to free them of sinful taint. Some Indians, following these injunctions, vomited so often that their lives were endangered by it.[***] They were, further, strictly ordered to fast, and to take nothing but Beson. Few persevered in this absurd practice the required length of time.

Other teachers pretended that stripes were the most effectual means to purge away sin. They advised their hearers to suffer themselves to be beaten with twelve different sticks from the soles of their feet to their necks, that their sins might pass from them through their throats. They preached a system of morals, very severe for the savages, insisting that the Indians abstain from fornication, adultery, murder, theft and practice virtuous living as the condition to their attaining after death the place of the good spirits, which they call *Tschipeghacki*, the "land of spirits," where the life is happy and deer, bear and all manner of game are abundant and the water is like crystal. There nought was to be heard save singing, dancing and merry making. Formerly the Indians only knew of a good place promised to the virtuous, but they did not know where the place was. The preachers pretend to have found the place, which lies to the south. The passage thither is the milky way which may be seen in the heavens on a clear night. They venture also to describe the appearance of the place for there are Indians who have been dead for several days and returned to life who have been there and have told of the things seen. Whoever reaches that place will find a city of beautiful houses and clean streets. Entering a house he will see no one but have good things to eat placed before him, a fire made and a bed prepared — all of which is done by spirits invisible to him. Others assert that such an one will see the women coming with baskets on their backs full of strawberries and bilberries, large as apples, and will observe that the inhabitants daily appear in fine raiment and live a life of rejoicing.

In this they all agree that the bad Indians, who have not lived as these preachers exhorted them, will not reach the place, *Tschipeghacki*, but must remain some distance away, able to see

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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those within dwelling happily but not able to enter. They would receive nothing but poisonous wood and poisonous roots to eat, holding them ever near the brink of a bitter death but not suffering them to die.

While these preachers admonished the Indians to lead a good and virtuous life their own walk and conduct altogether disagreed with their exhortation. They introduced polygamy, and during their sermons had several of their wives sitting 'round about them. They even pretended that it was a charitable and meritorious act in them, as men living upon terms of intimacy with God, to take these poor ignorant women and lead them in the way to God and to the enjoyment of eternal felicity.

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This part of their doctrine was greatly relished by the Indians, and it is a lamentable truth that since that period adultery, fornication and other such abominations have been more frequent among the Indians. The young began to despise the counsel of the aged and endeavored to get into favor with these preachers whose followers multiplied very fast. Some of the preachers went even so far as to make themselves equal with God. They affirmed that the weal and woe of the Indians depended upon their will and pleasure. Their deluded followers, possessing the highest veneration for them, brought them many presents. Even some of the most sensible and respected Indians assented to their doctrines, punctually following their prescriptions even at the hazard of health and life. Some of the latter we now have in the congregation, who have learned that nothing avails to deliver from the servitude of sin save the blood of Jesus Christ.

One of these preachers often proclaimed openly to the Indians that he was quite at home at the side of God, went in and out of his presence where neither sin nor Satan could do him harm; he stated, however, that he had never heard of the God on the cross preached by the Moravians, and did not believe him to be the real God for his God had no wounds and gave him whenever he appeared a little piece of bread, white as snow. On another occasion, having prepared a drink of bilberries he announced that this was the blood of the Son of

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668 T94 God. Thus it appeared that through him Satan endeavored to rob the gospel of its power over the Indians.

As long as the preachers did not proclaim things evidently untrue they were held in great regard and had a considerable following withersoever they went, for they never remained long in one place, else their deception would have been revealed the sooner. They still preached in Gekelemukpechünk [304] when the Moravians came to the Muskingum. Soon thereafter they began to be too coarse, seeking to establish their teaching in opposition to the gospel. This brought about the end of their influence. One has since heard little of them and the most have died. For at the last they preached that whoever would believe in them and follow their direction would be happy in the chase and in all other undertakings, would be able to cross sea and land, would reap plenteous harvests even though little had been planted. The Indians who trusted in them soon saw that they had been deceived and that they had been brought to starvation by the treacherous preachers. Then the power of the latter was at an end.

782 T96 Worship and sacrifices have obtained among them from the earliest times, being usages handed down from their ancestors. Though in the detail of ceremony there has been change, as the Indians are more divided now than at that time, worship and sacrifice have continued as practiced in the early days, for the Indians believe that they would draw all manner of disease and misfortune upon themselves if they omitted to observe the ancestral rites.

[848 1602] In the matter of sacrifice, relationship, even though distant, is of significance, legitimate or illegitimate relationship being regarded without distinction. A sacrifice is offered by a family, with its entire relationship, once in two years. Others, even the inhabitants of other towns, are invited. Such sacrifices are commonly held in autumn, rarely in winter. As their connections are large, each Indian will have opportunity to attend more than one family sacrifice a year. The head of the family knows the time and he must provide for everything. When the head of such a family is converted, he gets into difficulty because his

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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174 this culture area as the Osage, Kansa, Ioway and Quapaw. Then with their final repose under the wing of the Cherokee Nation they felt
[668] the touch of the northward-moving Peyote cult; this time an influence affecting the religious fibre of the tribe to a greater degree than had any of the preceding associations with other religious forms, not even excepting Christianity. The span of transition is apparently complete. Its angles are numerous enough to confuse the most systematic ethnologist, even if he had the properties of the various culture-periods blocked out for him. Things, however, are not so fortunate. We have no clear or specific knowledge of the first-contact Delaware and Munsee civilization; only scraps of the post-Iroquoian and post-European periods and almost nothing covering the century of migration from Pennsylvania to Kansas and Indian Territory. Amid the obscurity of our knowledge of the famous tribe through these eras the curtain is now raised for us in the twentieth century. And the ethnologist with methodical equipment and the resources afforded him by the present knowledge of human sciences enters the scene to grapple with the long neglected task. Happily for him, some of the Delawares, faithful to their traditions, are still practising their culture. They have retained their tribal organization, their language, their religious creed and rites, their philosophy of life, their psychological content and some vestiges of their industrial and economic past, handed down either through tradition or usage in remote districts among conservative families. Much of their past culture has indeed been fostered through sentiment and love.
121 This is the background out of which we are to construct our picture, to unravel the twisted elements woven into the Delaware culture fabric. From one point of view we are obliged to take the Delawares as they are now, to handle with delicacy the venture in research to discriminate between leather and cloth, sinew and thread, porcupine quills and glass beads and ribbon, stone and iron, in illustrating their processes of ornament and manufacture. Fortunately, equal difficulty does not confront us in dealing with the beliefs and practices of religion, since this is the realm in which man is most conservative; the truth of which statement challenges and astounds us in modern European as well as in modern Indian religions.

A few words of explanation seem to be called for in regard to my plan of arrangement in presenting the material in hand. A general discussion of some fundamental concepts and practices, I feel, is required, preceding the body of the text dictated by Wi'tapano'xwe, though footnote references accompanying the texts will find their connection with the theme. Other notes of an explanatory nature are needed to guide the sense of description through phrases and terms obscure to one not familiar with Delaware culture and the language, and to explain where English idioms have been called into use to